533
789

If gongs and mokos are beaten for days ahead of time, the sound will soften the hearts of debtors, and wealth will flow into the village at the forthcoming feast.

584
482

Accompanied by the beating of gongs and mokos, a pig and some corn arrive as a dowry payment preliminary to a larger death feast payoff.

[p. 325]

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415
482

In the late afternoon women arrive with rice baskets (*baleti*) in their carrying packs to display at a payoff feast.

A husband must greet his wife's kinsmen with derogatory remarks as they deliver a dowry payment.

584
291
426

Maliseni the Financier protests vigorously the payment that is being made.

[p. 32 U]

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513
516

On the verandah of the gong house old men wait for advance tidbits of a pig that is being butchered for the afternoon's feast. Between them a boy who danced all night snatches a nap.

584
578

A crowd listens to an argument over a dowry payment. Tilapada, whose autobiography is given in this volume, is the first woman at left center. Her head is thrown back as she makes a telling point. Back of her stand her oldest daughter and at her left her youngest daughter. The serious people are partners to the gift. The ones who are laughing are not involved in the exchange.

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intends to sleep with him. When a young man ties up his long hair and walks with bells on his basket, women watch until he has passed by, and then they say, 'Isn't that a fine man!' and begin to hoot. If he wears a big white shawl from the coast, women will say, 'There goes my white chicken!' and then they hoot. The young man feels glad but also a little ashamed. Also, when a young man begins to versify at a dance and his voice rings out clear and strong, the next day the women will say, 'Don't we have a fine man in our village!' and then they will hoot. When there is a dance, the young man will hunt for areca and betel the day before so as to fill up his basket. When he reaches the dance place on the night of the dance, all the young women will crowd around him and hold out their hands for areca. If one woman comes back again and again for more areca, it is a sign that they already want each other, and soon they will go off and make an agreement. Then the girl says he must go find her bride-price."

This comment sets, better than any outsider could, the pattern of masculine vanity, which often persists through life and which is recognized as a male trait. Consistent with this newly developed swagger, other changes occur in young men's lives. In the course of a few months they break away from the irresponsible free-roving play groups of growing boys and become far more solitary and sedentary. They imitate the indolence of older wealthy men. At the same time, they begin to speculate about the possibilities and the means for entering the financial system of the adults and about ways of ingratiating themselves with men of influence who may be of assistance to them. The whole question of entering financial activities will be discussed presently in connection with marriage.

One significant detail concerning food should be noted in connection with the coming of age in boys. The picture so far of the development of masculine vanity and the good-natured teasing that it involves is thoroughly familiar to us. There is another and comparable source of teasing. Boys who are beginning to show open interest in girls and to visit the village of someone they find attractive will be teased by older people with comments like the following, "Padama has gone to visit his wife in Karieta. When boys grow up, the food their mother cooks no longer tastes good. They have to go to the house of a young woman to eat." This kind of teasing makes the younger boys squirm with embarrassment much as it would in our society. A few years later a young man will insist on a midday meal, even if he has to cook it himself, as a symbol of the adult status he is struggling to acquire. The extent to which food and courting ideas can be linked is also exemplified in the follow-

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ing instance. Langmai, who was courting Kolmani by helping her with the storage of her harvest, suggested that they had better marry, by saying, "Who will eat this corn I am stacking? I had better come and eat it myself."

### TOOTH BLACKENING

It is during this period of adolescence that both boys and girls have their teeth blackened and filed. Again the matter is optional, but since shiny black teeth are much admired and long uneven ones are considered very ugly, practically every young person has his blackened and probably half have them filed. The process is more or less in the nature of a prolonged picnic, free from adult supervision. It is without doubt also a period of license for many of the young people, although adults vigorously contradicted my phrasing it so.

The best indication of the sexual liberty current at this time is that stricter parents forbid their daughters to remain in remote field houses overnight and insist upon their staying at home or near by in the house of some responsible elder kin. Further, when I visited such a group one evening at sundown just as the strips of dye were being passed out, the young man in charge of procuring and mixing the paste used to darken the teeth said sternly to the children, "Now, no intercourse tonight"—a comment that produced a ripple of giggling among the boys and girls.

The actual procedure is as follows: In July or August some young unmarried man, perhaps in his early twenties, announces that he will blacken teeth for the children of the community and designates the field house where it will be done. This is the slack season agriculturally, so that girls can be spared from the fields. He purchases from some friend in the village of Bakudatang a particular type of soil found there. This investment rarely exceeds five cents. With the earth he mixes a fruit resembling a small green fig. The resulting paste is smeared on a strip of banana bark which each child cuts to fit the size of his mouth. The preparation of each day's supply takes the better part of an afternoon. For at least seven nights, and often ten, the children sleep together in a field house, with the paste held against their teeth by the flexible bark strips. During the day boys assiduously hunt rats, and girls go to their fields to collect vegetable foods. The children all eat together, being careful to place small bits of food far back in their mouths in order not to spoil the dye. With the same objective a length of thin bamboo is used as a drinking tube during the period. Surplus rats are smoked to preserve them for a feast on the last day.

The whole procedure reminds one very much of "playing house." It is a carefree time for all the young people. There are no taboos asso-

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bride-price balanced by three types of dowry payments. These all have 583
separate native terms.

| | Bride-Price | Dowry |
|---|---|---|
| Payments in gongs and mokos | *hafuk* | *mailing* |
| Payments in pigs | *paheb* | *fle* |
| Free gifts of piglets, corn, and rice | *pangke* | *siengmo* |

In arranging a marriage the young people frequently reach an agree- [584]
ment first and then persuade their elders to assist in the negotiations.
Just as frequently a marriage may be a matter of financial expediency
for the adults, to which young people are often quite acquiescent. Re-
gardless of how a particular marriage has been arranged, it is necessary
for the kinsmen to discuss, sometimes over a period of months, just how
the exchanges will be initiated. First of all *wamama*,* an engagement gift
or option on the girl, must be given. This consists of a moko worth
from $1.50 to $2.50 for the girl's father and a shawl worth $.75 to
$1.50 for the mother. The theoretic bride-price and dowry payments in
mokos should consist of the following series:

| Bride-Price (*hafuk*) | | Dowry (*mailing*) | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *behak* (his war arrow) Afnipo moko | $35.00 | *mahaiy hafihda* *Maningmauk* moko | $ 5.00 |
| | | 12 dance anklets | .60 |
| | | bead dance pectoral | .25 |
| *behohda* (his junior) Hawauka moko | 7.50 | *behohda* (her junior) *Maningmauk* moko | 5.00 |
| *besui* (his third) Kolmalo moko. | 6.50 | *besui* (her third) Tamamia moko | 4.00 |
| *besuui* (his fourth) *Maningmauk* moko | 5.00 | *behui* (her fourth) Piki moko.. | 2.50 |
| *beyeting* (his fifth) Tamamia moko | 4.00 | *beyeting* (her fifth) Kabuli moko | 1.50 |
| *betalama* (his sixth) Piki moko.. | 2.50 | *betalama* (her sixth) Fatafa moko | 1.25 |
| | $60.50 | | $20.10 |

This is purely a formal list of the approved payments and their rela-
tionships. It indicates a tendency for bride-prices to be three times as
large as dowries. No case in my records exactly corresponds to such a
theoretic description. What actually happens is that the male kin, in
discussing the mokos each side has available, make a purely expedient
arrangement which only approximates the theoretic one. Before the
consummation of the marriage, the man should make the engagement
gift and pay the first, and highest priced, moko. Without further cere- 585
mony the girl then goes to live with him.

Theoretically she then becomes a member of his village and his line-

* This term is the equivalent of our "no trespassing." It refers to branches placed on a house door as a sign that the owner wishes no one to enter during his absence.

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585 age, but her kinsmen are always ready to remind her of her original
loyalties. She usually arrives at her husband's house with a bundle of
wood or some corn as a symbol of her readiness to take up cohabitation.
[183] Again, however, this is the formal rather than the usual procedure.
[584] Quite often a very young girl may live in the house with her future
husband, because "if she cooks for the man, his heart will remember
mokos and he will want to pay her family." On many other occasions a
girl will refuse to go through with the physical aspects of marriage,
although the financial ones have been arranged for her and a first moko
payment has been made. This reluctance will be discussed subsequently
where sexual material *is* treated in greater detail.

602 If, however, a marriage does crystallize, the husband, after making
583 the first payment, is free to call on his affinal kin for the first dowry
return whenever he is in need of it. Similarly his affinal kin will dun
him for further kafuk payments as they need them. The liquidation of
the bride-price and dowry terms may take the better part of a lifetime.
Meanwhile, however, there has been carried on between the two groups
of affinal kin a series of exchanges in pigs of the so-called paheh and fila
type. These are not standardized and agreed upon ahead of time. The
[185] number of animals exchanged should theoretically be equal in value,
but the outcome depends on the fluctuating bargaining power of the
individuals concerned. The extent to which each group of kin is in-
volved in death feasts, the building of lineage houses, and the establish-
ment of new marital obligations will determine the frequency and size
of the demands they make upon each other. The result is that a young
[187] man is often fearful of marrying a girl whose male kin are too rich and
influential, because he may not have the resources to meet the requests
to which such a marriage exposes him.

431 In addition to the larger bride-price–dowry exchanges there are
583 the so-called free gifts (*punghe* and *siengma*). Actually, the punghe
602 gifts are considered the man's payments on actual or potential offspring
and may be one of the chief avenues for minor exploitation. Stated con-
versely, these gifts provide a man the opportunity to show himself
either large-handed or niggardly. Propriety demands that each child be
represented by a minimum of four punghe gifts, which means four pig-
lets. The corresponding siengma, or vegetable gifts of rice and corn, are
such foods as the wife has been able to persuade her parents to contrib-
ute to any feast undertaken by her husband. Actually, a boy who is
not yet married and who wishes to placate his potential and grasping
431 affinal kin may begin by giving punghe gifts before he pays his first
602 real bride-price or cohabits with his wife. In addition, there is another

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the poison her husband had made over a piece of areca-nut shell she had discarded. The young woman, when I saw her, was depressed and ill. She apparently felt herself in an impasse.

Cases of this sort are relatively rare. Women as a rule are too valuable to go begging in this fashion, and anyone with enough vigor and maturity can get herself out of such a dilemma, as reference to the autobiographies will show.

## ENTERING MARRIAGE FINANCE

So far this discussion of marriage has been primarily concerned with its formal structure, its influence on stabilizing relationships, and the position in which it places women in relation to their male kin. How a young man enters the financial game, with marriage and sex as motivations, needs some elucidation. The mode of entry presents a wide range—from those young men who are on good terms with wealthy fathers willing to set them up in marriages agreeable to them, to those young men who have no solicitous kin willing to, or able to, assist and who must break into the system through their own initiative.

The situation of the young man whose way is smoothed by the cooperation of a willing father needs little elaboration. The men's autobiographies set this picture in part. It is worth noting that elder kin are often genuinely concerned about procuring a wife for a young man. If a youth becomes involved with a woman, her relatives may precipitate a public scandal and force a marriage. This places the boy's elders at a disadvantage in bargaining. However, the case of a young man who opposes his father's choice and that of a young man who must make his way unaided may be illustrated in two incidents given here in some detail for the light they throw on human relationships.

Atamau was a young man of about seventeen whose elderly father, Mobikaliets, had found it financially convenient about a year before to accept as partial payment for a debt a friend's immature daughter, who was to become the wife of his son. Atamau resented the girl because as his age-mates said, "He wants someone who is old enough to sleep with." The matter had been in abeyance for about a year, but to a house-building feast in which the old father was a partner, the young girl was sent with a food contribution in her own right. This constituted a sort of public declaration of the validity of her marriage. When she arrived on the dance place, Atamau flew into a rage and knocked her basket of food to the ground, saying she was not his wife and had no right to contribute food.

The father was angry and turned on his son, who then openly re-

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jected the marriage, saying that the girl's parents were willing to give back the bride-price. The father, despite his age and feebleness, flew into such a tantrum at this that he began dancing challenge back and forth across the dance place, shouting as loud as his aged voice permitted. The son sat quietly to one side looking distressed but stubborn. Bystanders tried to intercede only to have Mobilkaliets turn on them in rage and threaten to leave the feast, although he was a building partner of the lineage house then being erected.

After various extremely boastful challenges on Mobilkaliets's part he suddenly recalled the original cause of his anger and turning on his son said, "Perhaps you had better find another father." This was the equivalent of "throwing away" his son, one of the most drastic measures a kinsman can bring to bear. Atamus began to cry quietly but refused to surrender his point. When I asked a bystander if Atamus would really seek another man to help him marry, the bystander smiled and said, "When a father and son quarrel, they don't remember their words (i.e., they hold no grudge)."

However, this was merely a traditional response. Actually Atamus and Mobilkaliets were not reconciled. Five months later Atamus persuaded Maliumi, a rich financier, to take up his case. For two whole days Maliumi negotiated with the girl's father, with Atamus's father, and with the chief of Atimelang, who was considering buying Atamus's repudiated child wife. The negotiations reached a climax one night when for two hours Maliumi paced back and forth on his dance place discussing the matter with a sympathetic audience and shouting his conclusions to the dance place up on the ridge where the supporters of the girl were gathered.

All this difficulty centered around a series of interlocking obligations in which Atamus was being squeezed. The situation was complex but in brief was this. Mobilkaliets had already paid the girl's father a ten-dollar moko, a five-dollar moko, and two pigs. The girl's father was notoriously poverty-stricken, and direct payment from him was out of the question. The chief of Atimelang was bidding for the rejected girl and was willing to pay back the five-dollar moko and the two pigs. Still unsettled was the repayment of the ten-dollar moko. The girl's father and the chief were saying they would not repay it until Atamus made a dowry payment on a kinswoman of his who was married to a kinsman of theirs. Matters were at an impasse for another month until the divorce of another of Atamus's kinswomen, through Maliumi's good offices, put him in possession of a moko. This he could use as the demanded dowry payment and thereby get back his ten-dollar bride-price

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moko. With that in hand he could begin to accumulate a new bride-price, by lending it at interest to Maliomi. Thereby he would be one step nearer to buying the girl on whom his heart meanwhile had become set. These financial transactions must have been highly frustrating to Atamau and the girl whom he wished to marry. They also gave rise to, or were the means of expressing, hostility between a father and son, and they laid the rejected girl open to a good deal of sly teasing from young men about her desirability and the reason for her marriage to an older man.

Seniaka's experiences in trying to break into financial life were perhaps even more frustrating and discouraging than those of Atamau. When he was about fourteen or fifteen, he had spent a season working hard in his and his parents' gardens. After a good maize harvest had been tied into bundles and stored in the loft, his parents, partly to reward him and partly to start him on his financial career, gave him a piglet. Seniaka devoted himself to its care. He kept it penned and gathered food to fatten it rapidly. When it was worth a five-dollar moko, instead of allowing Seniaka to contribute it to a feast for a return payment in moko, his father confiscated it for one of his own death feasts, saying it was Seniaka's duty to contribute to their family ceremonies.

Seniaka was furious but helpless. He swore he would never again raise pigs, a vow that he kept stubbornly for years. Meanwhile his father died, but there was an older brother who had to buy a wife first. When I knew Seniaka he was twenty-six, still unmarried, and as sensitive on that score as all boys in Arimalang. For a young man of his age to be unmarried is considered even more of a social disability than for a debutante who has been out ten years. Luckily Seniaka was a good houseboy and the salary he received from me permitted him to buy a few moko from a coastal man who was pressed for tax money and to acquire a couple of pigs. The special inducement for launching once more on a financial career was a girl from Kariota with whom he had fallen in love. He contributed his pigs as dowry payments on some female kin and expected the higher bride-price in return. However, he lent his moko at interest to Maliomi, the same financier who figured in the preceding anecdote and one notoriously skilled in financial chicanery.

To add to Seniaka's difficulties his future brothers-in-law were planning a large death feast for their father. They counted on their only sister's bride-price as one of the chief sources of income for the event. Night after night when Seniaka went to see the girl, her kin berated him for his slowness in paying his bride-price and threatened to sell their sister to another man. They even demanded that he pay the whole

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607 kafuk at one time, since his older brother had recently indulged in that
609 kit of *communious* financing. As Semlaka said, "They made me ashamed.
It is not as though I were not an orphan. Now it has been three weeks
since I have been to their house." In the meantime Semlaka had tried to
[621] placate his future affinal kin by furnishing at different times ten pigless
as free gifts (*pawghe*).

626 During these negotiations Semlaka was trying his best to force Mali-
636 meni to make the promised repayment on the moko he had lent him and
Malimeni was putting him off with promises. Malimeni said that he had to
wait until a man in a distant village gave a death feast, at which time he
would receive payment on an outstanding obligation. Feasts are always
held much later than the promised date, so only after much delay did
Semlaka finally think he was to get the promised moko. When Malimeni
returned, however, he "spoke nicely" to Semlaka, saying that unfortu-
nately another creditor had insisted upon being paid but that if Semlaka
could give him an additional moko, he, Malimeni, could repay both of
them with an even higher valued moko that he expected to receive
soon. Semlaka was furious. In telling me the whole story he said, "Here
older men just try to cheat the young ones. It is a lot of trouble to get
married here. Countries where there are no gongs and mokos and
where you don't have to buy a wife are better."

In the interim another man heard of Semlaka's difficulties and said
that if Semlaka would litigate for the return of his original moko—
which would mean abandoning the hope of interest—a better deal
could be arranged. When Semlaka broached the matter to Malimeni, the
latter tried to dissuade Semlaka on the plea that such a procedure would
shame him. Semlaka, however, stood firm and finally Malimeni returned
a moko worth the original loan. After four months Semlaka was ready
to start all over again with the help of another and, hopefully, more
trustworthy older man.

538 In discussing the relationships involved, Semlaka admitted that the
girl's two older brothers were inclined to press him less hard than her
youngest brother and her mother. When I questioned him about the
girl's attitude, his first answer was the traditional one, namely, that she
stayed out of the family bickerings. Finally he admitted that she had
told her brothers that if she could not marry Semlaka she would ask the
kapitan for a tax bill. This was a way of saying that she would ask to
have masculine status, that she would marry no one, and that her
brothers would receive no bride-price on her at all. In view of the fact
that theoretically, and often actually, a woman caught in such conflicts
is expected to support the financial interests of her kinsmen as opposed

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to those of her husband, this was a singularly loyal and romantic state- 534
ment on the girl's part.

In the foregoing pages I have attempted to give a simplified picture 531
of what marriage means financially, how young men enter the game, and the kinds of human involvements that may result. From even this brief résumé of the situation it becomes evident how firmly wealth and marriage, sex and frustration must merge in the minds of young Atimelangers.

### ROMANCE AND SEX IN MARRIAGE

That there is such a thing as romantic love is evident from the foregoing. However, it is equally evident that this is not the term in which the institution is phrased by the culture. In this, of course, the Atimelangers reverse our romantic formulation of marriage. I have the impression that a stubborn romantic attachment like Simlaka's is a definite liability, since it makes him more susceptible to financial pressure.

In discussing the sexual and romantic aspects of courting and mar- 534
riage it is worth noting how consistently the men's autobiographies report that women took the initiative. It is often they who suggest that tokens such as shawls, bracelets, and the like be exchanged. It is the girls who are supposed to ask men for areca, which is symbolic at least of friendship, and often of actual courting. They flock as eagerly as boys to the all-night dances, which often offer excellent opportunities for finding [528]
partners. Dances consist of a circle of people standing close and moving sidewise with arms thrown over each other's shoulders or around the partners' waists. There is every opportunity to select the partner of one's choice and to have close physical contact with him. The men, in speaking of marriage, often present themselves as passive pawns of women's or older men's designs. Such a picture might be more convincing if it were substantiated by the women's autobiographies and if the flirting, philandering, and recriminations of everyday life did not in part contradict it. The actual situation probably varies with individuals. The point to be noted is that initiative in contracting a marriage is not even theoretically denied to women.

In both sexes the striking thing brought out in the autobiographies is 534
the ease with which loved persons may be surrendered. It is a character 593
trait consistent with the supposition made at the end of the section on 571
late childhood, namely, that there are few opportunities in Atimelang life for the establishment of secure and permanent relationships and little expectation of, or insistence upon, them. This is far from saying 113
that they never occur. There are several couples who have established 593
what would be considered in any culture devoted and lasting marital

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prized virtue in the culture, as we have seen in connection with the education of children and as was abundantly evidenced in cases of illness and wounds. An interesting episode happened one day when an older financier, Malimni, suggested dancing with young men in this fashion, but offered to pay two cents for each blow instead of receiving return blows. There was some debate among the young men as to the worth of this offer and it was finally rejected. This was apparently too new an extension of the aggression-wealth concept to be generally acceptable.

In the delivery of large dowry payments (*moling*) there is a mock verbal battle in which the female kin of the wife and husband exchange insults about the value of the gifts being given. The men often join these debates. Frequently they are purely formal and are carried out in a mood of chuckling good humor and with much amusement. At other times there may be serious ill feeling expressed and a genuine attempt made to shame the husband and his kin into more generous gifts to the carriers of the dowry payments.

When feelings become intense, particularly between two kin, a drastic expression of hostility is to swear a curse against one's opponent. These curses vary from mild pronouncements of noncooperation in the future to actual death penalties by leprosy or some other form of dread disease. These curses can be removed by counternotifices, and usually are, when peace is restored. They are pronounced seemingly in the heat of a quarrel and are subsequently regretted. The curse placed on Fantan by his wife (see autobiography, page 374) is a case in point.

### WEALTH CONTESTS

The expression of hostility through wealth has been touched upon in connection with marriage. There are two other forms of institutionalized wealth combats. One is a sort of wealth contest called *tatab* and the other is a type of fine by challenge and shame called *kabakab*. Both of these devices are used only rarely. The realistic hardheadedness of the Arimelang financier does not foster any abuse of these devices.

No wealth contests (*tatab*) occurred during my period of residence in the village, so that I am dependent upon hearsay accounts. During eighteen months there were, however, at least two such threats, which did not materialize. Within the last twenty years probably not more than three such outbursts have occurred in the Five Villages. A condensed and simplified account of one of the most elaborate of these wealth contests is given below.

Maleata was a young man who had married Malimni's sister, Kol-

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Y 159 her. So they said I must buy the girl. They said I was to search for a
bride-price and they would search for a dowry, and on a given day we
would exchange bride-price for dowry. This is not our custom. This is
a Ruinenberg custom. I said I had not slept with this girl. One morning
I stood under their house and called out, "Come look at my penis. If it
is wet, I have slept with your daughter. If it is dry, I have not slept with
her." Kerwaring said, "My friend, do not open your loincloth and ex-
pose yourself." I was just joking. The girl and her mother came down,
X 159 and the girl lied. She said I had slept with her. They said I lied. So the
693 girl said we had better try the millet ordeal. When they had the millet
boiling, they dropped a small round stone in it. I reached into the pot,
found the stone, and pulled it out. I ran to the dance place and said to
Lahamala [God], "Indeed, Lahamala, witness this. If I had slept with
the woman, my hand would have been burned. If I had not slept with her,
my hand would not have been burned. My hand is not burned. You
people have accused me falsely." My hand was a little sore that day and
I slept. But the next morning it was all right.

X 159 At this time chiefs had just been appointed and litigations had begun,
689 but I used the old way, *do hanar kahabek*. [He inserted ethnographic
details, which I have deleted. He is recounting a system of forcing high
payment through shaming the persons who have insulted him.] So I
went to Alemala and asked for his pig, which he was raising in partner-
ship with a woman. It was worth a Hiekbai [6-rupiah moko]. She did
not want to give it to me and they quarreled. Alemala wounded it, and
then he followed me and ceremonially demanded payment. So I gave
him my Maningmuuk [10-rupiah moko] for the pig.

X 159 Then I went to Lampala and Mooyada, who had accused me. They
589 didn't want to pay me. They said the girl wanted to marry me and
would carry a load of wood to my house next day. Six days went by
before the girl came with the wood. She set it down far from the house
and came to sit half on and half off the verandah. My mother called to
her and told her to come up and cook, but she didn't want to. So I
talked to her, and I discovered she did not have a big heart for me. She
wanted to marry another man. So my mother gave her a squash and she
went back to her own house. In six more days my aunt took the wood
and carried it back to the girl's house. Then in six days I went again to
X 159 call for my debt. This time there was a litigation involving five of us
689 men who had slept in Malemal's house with this woman. Four of us
who had not had intercourse had to pay fifty cents each. But Mania-
lucka had tugged at her breasts and slept with her, so he had to pay a
*pig and a pig.*

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husband has thick swollen lips and he is very black. I don't want to be married to him." [Mangma was thin-lipped and light in color.] After she was pregnant, she didn't give me anything any more.

I was back here for maybe five years before I married. After I came back here, that woman from Awasi would run to her mother's and father's house whenever her husband wanted to sleep with her. If her husband was along when we met to trade, she would look at me sideways out of her eyes and show me where we should meet. Then we would slip off and sit together. She would have kanari nuts hidden for me in the bottom section of her areca basket. [Question.] My wife didn't know. I never told her. If she had known we should have fought.

Later when my wife was with me at the market place, I called my wife and gave her the present this woman had given me. Then this woman knew I now had a wife, and she thought it better not to give me anything any more. Her husband was as black as Malelaka.

After I had come back from Awasi, I went to gather betel from a vine that grew on a big tree near Lawatika. As I was getting it, Fungalani, a tall woman from Lawatika [not his wife, who was also named Fungalani], called to me and said to bring her the betel basket. I said I had to get back to my village, but she said, "No, come to me first." So I went, and she took all the areca she had in the bottom of her basket, a lot of it, and gave it to me. I asked why she gave it to me. She answered that they had much areca. So I said, "Let us chew if there is lime." She said there was a lot of it, so we chewed together. When we finished chewing she said, "Aharkowani has four mokos, and he has sent word that he wants to marry me, but I do not want to." I said, "You had better marry him. He is a good man and he has four mokos. That is lucky." She said, "If I marry that man, where will you run? I had better marry you." I said, "Oh, you are older than I. Your father is a great-uncle of mine. You are my mother." But she said, "Oh, it is bad to follow one penis and vagina [i.e., for brothers and sisters to marry], but when parents are siblings, that is good [not true ethnologically]. We must marry. It may not be otherwise. I don't want to go to a distant village." I said, "You had better go and get wood and save it here. [When a woman fetches wood, it is a sign of her willingness to marry a man.] I have only one moko. But you had better bring wood to my house." She said, "Yes, but first we must finish harvesting the corn." That night I was slow to sleep with her, and she said to me, "Are you afraid of my high ladder and large door [i.e., of the wealth represented by the lineage house in which she lived]?" I said, "Oh, I have a tall

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ladder too, and I go up and down it in two steps." That woman was long in harvesting corn and didn't come. She said that evening, "We have talked until nightfall. We had better sleep together and be happy together before you return." But my mother sent her younger sister, my aunt Lonali, to fetch me. My mother knew where I was, and she said, "Those people from Lawatika are such that if you sleep one night with their girls they arrive with an expensive dowry consisting of a valuable moko [i.e., force a marriage with a high bride-price]." When I married my wife, Fungalani, the other Fungalani heard about it and said she had spoken first to me and that she too was coming to my house. But I said, "That is all right too, but you spoke to me first. If I had spoken to you first, it would have been all right. If you wish to come that is satisfactory, but I have only two mokos. Your bride-price will be only a Kolmale [worth 13 rupiahs]. Fungalani's bride-price will be the Hawataka [worth 30 rupiahs]." She didn't come.

*December 17, 1938*

Last night I dreamed twice. People had cut some papayas in the field of Fuipeni [wife of the chief of Alurkowati] and in Lanmau's field [Mangma's dead younger brother]. They had cut off the whole crown and just the trunk was left. The fruit had fallen around the base of the trees. We felt them and only two were ripe. Matingkalieta [Mangma's aunt], Lonfani [her daughter], and Padata of Hatoberka ate the papayas with me. There were only two ripe ones. The others lay there on the ground. The rain came and a large spate descended. We ran, but my younger brother, Lanmau, was washed away. We went to look for him. He came back and joined us, but he was a dead person and said nothing. The spate had split into two branches; one had cut through the field of the mandur of Dikimpe and one had cut through my garden. It had dried up. We followed its course down to the foot of the slope. There was a bubbling spring there. We went back up the slope a short way and then I woke up.

[Meaning of the cut papaya tree?] I don't know what that means but I think of a human head cut off. Eating and peeling ripe papayas means I will get a rash. [Spate?] That means a big rain will fall, a very big one, and there will be many spates but they will stop soon. The spring at the foot of the hill means that if I wash my hands in it I will get many gongs. [Split spate bed?] When the big rains come, they will come from two directions, and it will dry in the middle. [Afraid of spate?] I was very afraid when the spate carried off Lanmau, because I was afraid it would carry us off too. I was afraid for myself.

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159 Alofe deceased, Kafulamau, all of us, slept there too. One night Lakamau stole Manimale's pig. He brought it back and said, "Let's roast it." But Lakafani and Langmani said, "No, let's raise it." So Langmani made a pen off in a stone pile and put the pig in it. The next day Manimale followed Lakamau's tracks, and when he came he said they had stolen it. He went to Kapitan Jacob to litigate. All seven of us were called to the kapitan. He didn't say anything to us but put us all in a pigpen with a pig. Then after a while he began questioning us. All the older ones denied knowing anything about it, but Alofe and I said, "Perhaps an older person took it, but we don't know." Then it came out who had stolen it. Langmani paid his younger brother's fault with a pig and a sword. He had to give back the stolen pig too.

159 584 [Pleasant memories?] When I was about sixteen or seventeen, I was working in my garden at Fuhieng next to Falanata's. She had collected cassava stalks and wanted to build a house. I asked what she was doing. She told me and I said they were not good for a house. So Falanata said I should come and make it for her. I said, "Today I am working but tomorrow I'll come and build you a house." Then Falanata said, "If you don't come and help me, the evil spirit of Fuhieng will carry you off." [This conversation represented an invitation to marriage, the curse a protestation of fondness.] So the next day I began building the house for her, using six posts. She picked corn and cooked it for me. I finished the house that day and then she said I had to build the verandah. So I did. Falanata and a younger kinswoman lived there together. I wanted to go back home. I said, "Our gardens have one boundary and you must chase birds away from both." She said, "Yes, we have one garden above the wall and one below, and I shall guard both." [All this represented very romantic behavior on the part of both.] Then she said, "Since you have made my house, we had better marry. My mother and father said you are good friends with my brother Manimau, and that you have already exchanged gifts with him. You two had better go on being friends [and brothers-in-law, is the implication]. My father said that when your father gets gongs, he should bring them to our house [i.e., pay a bride-price]." About this time father went to Kafe and got a Tamamia moko. I went to our house after everyone was asleep and scattered ashes on their legs so they would not awake [a common device, supposed to be used by thieves]. I took the moko but I went to the house I had built for Falanata, not to her father's. When I got there, Falanata was sitting up watching our two fields. She said, "Do you remember our words and

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are you bringing a moko for my father?" I said, "I am going to hide this moko for your bride-price, but say nothing to anyone about it. My father always gives the mokos he gets to other people." I buried the moko in my garden. The next day father asked who had stolen his moko. I said that I had. "I am grown, but you don't think of buying a wife for me, so I took it and hid it." Then father said, "Manetati people are going to give me a Yeksing [15-rupiah moko] and a Hawataka [10-rupiah moko] if I pay them one Tamamia more. So go get the Tamamia and when I get the two large mokos, I'll give them to you." I said, "I'd better keep that Tamamia. When you get the Yeksing and Hawataka, then I'll give you the Tamamia." So father went to Manetati and got the two large mokos. When he brought them home, I got the Tamamia for him. But at this time another man gave Falanata's father a Yeksing. Our promise to each other did not come true. [He stopped. Why did you not protest?] She, her mother, and her brother wanted me to marry her, but her father wanted her to marry this other man, Karseni. [He had difficulty remembering the name.] Her father kept insisting, so she married Karseni. [Question.] She later divorced him, married another man, and divorced him. Now she is married to Simon. [Had he slept with her? He denied that he had.]

My father gave a dance for a dead man. Tilaseni attended it. She hadn't yet spoken to me. That night we danced, but not near each other. The next morning I was sleeping on the verandah and she came and looked through my areca basket, took areca, and spat the juice on both my cheeks. I still slept. Then she went home and slept on her verandah. I awoke and saw that my face was all red. I asked the children playing there what had happened, and they said they had seen Tilaseni come and search my areca basket, but they had not seen her spit areca juice on me. Then I set out to hunt rats. I passed her house and saw her sleeping, so I chewed some areca and spat juice on both her ears. Then Manikari and I went hunting. On our way home we met Tilaseni going for water. She called, "Who put areca juice on my ears? I have brushed it off and tomorrow I am going to burn it with a leprosy curse." I said, "I too was asleep and someone put red on my mouth and cheeks. Tomorrow I am going to old Falanata and have her make a kanari nut curse." Then she said, "Oh, I was the one who spat on you and you were the one who spat on me. That makes us even. We had better not bring down curses on each other." Then I went on home. That evening I wanted to go to a field house where Fungata, Kolmani, and Maliemsi [three slightly older kinswomen]

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were living. I wanted to go there to sleep. There were four of us men: Manikari, Fanmani, Maniseni, and I. We all played at dancing there. Tilaseni came to join us. She spoke to Malicmai and said, "Tell your younger brother that if he wants to marry me he can." Then Malicmai called me to come into the house. Maniseni said they had better all come in, but Malicmai said, "No, just Rilpada. The rest of you wait until I am through cooking." So Malicmai told me what Tilaseni had said. I answered, "Oh, this morning she spat areca juice on my face. We had better marry. I am willing." Then one night there was a dance for the village guardian spirit [*alensai*] given by Manikalieta. We all went. Tilaseni brought areca and betel to give me. I remembered that if a young man eats the areca a girl gives him, he breaks out with a rash, so I just put it in the bottom of my basket to give my father. [Exceedingly proper and conventional behavior.] At dawn I gave father the areca she had given me. [Question.] We didn't dance together. I told father that Tilaseni had given me the areca and if he was willing we could marry. Father said, "If you are happy with her, so am I. She is a good woman." At that time father wanted to feed his areca altar. He sent a child to tell Tilaseni's older brother to give him a pig. So they sent Tilaseni with a small pig, half a can of rice, and a bundle of corn. Father promised he would pay the bride-price in seven days and Tilaseni stayed in our house. In five days she came to sleep at my place, but just that night her uncle Fankalieta had called me to bring betel and areca, and we sat talking until the middle of the night. I went home to my place and saw that someone was sleeping on my mat. I felt the legs and felt two anklets. I thought, "This can't be my sister because she has only one anklet." I felt her calf. I ran my hand up her thighs, up her waist, to her breasts. I sat then and worried. I wanted to. It is customary here to wait seven days, but she came and wanted to sleep with me. I was ashamed. I crawled out, let down the ladder, and went out on the verandah, leaving her sleeping there. I slipped the ladder back up into the hallway and went to the chief's house to sleep. The next day when I came home father was angry with me. He said, "You are afraid of women. You didn't sleep with her. You aren't your age. By and by you will die. You will be poisoned." I said, "All right, I could have slept with her, but you older people are always saying that one has to wait seven days until the bride-price is paid, and I was just remembering your words." In two days we paid her bride-price. I didn't sleep with her the night we paid the bride-price. I ran away and slept in another house. So the next day she went to Kalabahi for two days. On the way back she met her older sister,

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knuckles, and then I would feed her. [Why did she cry?] She cried because she was hungry. [This and the departure of the mother are stock explanations for children's crying.] Once we went to dig tubers with mother. Maliema cried, so I carried her home, hurried to light a fire, cooked, and fed her.

Once when mother and father were both gone, I cooked sweet potatoes in one pot and vegetables in another and set them aside for them. When the family came home their food was ready. I was just beginning to cook then. I was eight or ten. If mother did not leave food, she would tell me to dig tubers. This I would do, and then I would prepare food for the family. At this age I was doing cooperative work in the fields with my playmates, but I always took Maliema along and she played behind us in the fields. One day it was raining hard, so we decided to stay home and play all day. Then in a year we were big [actually about ten or twelve].

[Were you glad to grow up?] We used to say, "Now we are grown up and we have much work to do. It would be better if we were always children. When we were still small, we played like that [referring to six-year-olds]." When I was about thirteen or fourteen [probably younger] the young men all used to say they would buy me. Fanlang said once, "This girl had better come to stay in our house." I asked him if he had a bride-price, and he answered that they had to make a feast, after which I had better marry his "father," Likma. Then Fanlang asked me to inquire whether Matinglang wanted to marry him. I went to speak to Matinglang, and she said, "Good, that is fine. We shall live all in one house." At this time Likma had already asked Fanlang to act as his go-between. Fanlang and Likma lived in one house. Matinglang and I were friends. At this time I was still small and had not slept with any man. There has been only Likma. When father fed his sacred hearth, Likma brought a pig, and within the month I went to stay in his house. Fanlang also married Matinglang, but later they were divorced.

[Can you remember the first quarrel with your husband?] Likma and Helangmai's husband went off to dun someone for a debt. There was a dance at Ruahmaang, and our husbands did not want to go. I and Helangmai went. The next morning our husbands came home and found us asleep on the verandah. They hit us because we had thus secretly gone off to the dance. They were angry that we had gone without asking them. [It was proper for a wife to have her husband's permission before going to a dance.]

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[I asked whether she knew her husband at the time he brought a gift to her uncle's death feast. See Lomani's story on March 12.] No, I had never seen him before. [Did you want to marry him?] Djetmani wanted to marry me. His kinsman Lakamau came to stay with him one night, and Djetmani said, "I have a woman, but someone else has hidden my shawl [meaning that Maliemai, who later became his first wife, was in love with him and wanted to marry him], so you had better marry Lomani. We shall go and get a pig for her uncle's death feast, and you can have her." Then they went together to Rualkameng and got the pig and brought it here. They went to Fanlang and asked what he thought. Fanlang called me and asked me if I was willing. I said it was all right. I said my uncle was the one who would have got my bride-price, and if Lakamau wanted to give a pig for his death feast, it was all right with me. So I went to him. He never paid a bride-price or received a dowry before his death. [This was qualified in the next day's story. Here was an account of a cheap marriage, both for the man, who got a wife with only the gift of a pig for a death feast, and for the woman's kin, who were rid of an orphaned female without a dowry. This does not mean that later bride-price and dowry exchanges were wiped out, but the arrangement made it obvious that the marriage was a poor one, not a money-making investment.]

*March 16, 1939*

[Again I asked for dreams. Lomani said she had none, so I told her where she left off yesterday. There was a long pause. She seemed each morning to have difficulty in starting. Hoping to start her talking on the sibling about whom she seemed so reticent, I asked whether her sister Kawaimani was already married when she herself married.] No, Kawaimani was not married. [Why not?] She was all wounds—her legs, hands, and face. [Where was she living?] She lived in the little house that mother built at Kamangmelang. [All alone?] Yes, but Matinglang and Letlani had a house right next to hers. [She again came to a full stop. The interpreter here interfered and told her to talk more.]

When we made Manimai's Hevelukang feast, Maitama and Cornelius [two sons of Manimai, who were about her own age] gave me a pig and corn to take to Lakamau. The corn was for Lakamau's mother. His mother was harvesting corn when we went. Maitama and Cornelius went to Rualkameng with me. When they left to return, I stayed and helped my mother-in-law with the corn. After a long time Lakamau didn't pay a bride-price, so the chief of Atimelang and his younger

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159 father and male kin had all died, we decided we had better move to mother's village.

[Kolangkalieta thought that my request for anecdotes about Kolata referred to her mother, not her daughter; both of them had the same name. Is it significant that she thought of her mother rather than her daughter? I again asked for stories about her daughter.]

Shall I tell about her search for a man? The tumukun wanted to marry Kolata, but his second wife fought with her all the time. Therefore Kolata said she didn't want to marry a man who already had a wife, because she would have to fight all the time. She said she wanted to marry a single man. At that time she and Padamai had already reached a private agreement. The tumukun was very angry and said, "Why do you want this man? He is nothing [a very insulting remark]." He boxed Kolata's ears and hit Padamai over the head. Kolata said, "No matter how you talk to me, I don't want you." The chief of Atimelang [Kolata's older brother] didn't want her to marry either the tumukun or Padamai. I wanted her to marry Padamai. The two young people said it was over between them, but in their hearts they still wanted each other. Even after the tumukun hit him Padamai continued to live in our house with us. I told Padamai he was our Female House and we were his Male House, that our home was also his and he could live with us. Padamai was a seer. He cured a man and was given a large pig in payment. Padamai brought the pig to my house and kept it there. At that time there was a feast in Hatoberka. I and my son were hunting for a pig to take. Padamai said to me, "Elder sister, don't search any more for a pig. You can use mine." I said, "Good, but this is a debt, and later we shall pay it back." Padamai answered, "No, just use it." We went to the feast and Padamai did not eat. [This was a sign of affection for, and relationship with, her dead kin.] On the way home I asked Kolata where we would find a pig to pay back the one we had received from Padamai. She said, "Oh, we don't have to pay it back." [That is, it would serve as a bride-price payment.] Later we talked the matter over with my elder son, the chief. Padamai had hidden himself up in the mango tree to eavesdrop. The chief was angry and said, "Why do you two like this man who has no gongs and mokos? Why do you accept his pig? Perhaps he has given you a shawl?" [It is customary for the bridegroom to give his mother-in-law a shawl as a token of payment and an engagement present.] I said, "I wear a shawl, don't I? Is this of cassava leaves? I too have a shawl." The chief was very angry. Kolata said, "I want a single man. Whether or not he has any

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*April 18, 1939*

159 Last night I dreamed that my pig went to Likma's garden and ate his beans. Likma said we had to pay for them. Langmai said, "All right, I shall pay, but from now on you can't come to my garden to gather beans and I shan't go to yours. We shall swear an oath to this effect." [Stop.]

At one time Langmai wanted to marry Lonberka. He took a large piece of cloth to give her parents as a token payment on the bride-price. Although he gave it, that woman didn't want to marry him. [58] [Stop.] Lonberka had cooked rice and eggs to feed Langmai [a sign of accepting troth], but when she did not want to marry him, he took back his cloth and did not pay for the food. Lomani wanted to marry Langmai. Her mother, Tilamau, came to ask Langmai for the piece of cloth, and Langmai gave it to her. [Stop.] Then Lomani didn't want to marry him, so he took it back. Next Tilamai wanted to marry him. So Langmai gave the cloth to her mother. She and her brother were giving a feast at Hatolberka, and Langmai followed them there. But when Tilamai got there, she spoke to Fantafani. [Stop.] She threw away Langmai, and when Langmai asked Fantafani for his expenses, Fantafani refused. Then this woman also threw away Fantafani to marry an Aila man. Langmai went to the Aila man to ask for his expenses, and he was paid two pieces of cloth and a Tamamia moko, but the original piece of cloth has not yet been paid back. [Stop.]

[I reminded her to speak of herself in relation to others. She was blocked, which was rare in this talkative informant. I asked for her first quarrel with her husband.]

The first time we fought, Langmai said to me, "Your family has given no dowry on you, either in wealth or in flesh. You had better go down and sleep in the pigpen." [Stop. Why this quarrel?] Some people of Makangfokung had brought a sheep to sell, and my family did not help Langmai buy it, so the Makangfokung people took it back. [Stop.] When he spoke like that, I followed Likma [an uncle] to Fiyaipe, and when he came back, he gave a dowry payment on me. [Stop.] Then I went to Folafeng to ask for Padamai's sheep. He said, "Our mouths are still raw [i.e., Kolmani had not yet fed the sheep owner]." So I fed him. [Stop.] At that time we did not yet know who was in our Male Houses because we didn't know our genealogies. Lonmobi and I investigated; then we invited them all to come and eat. They were Maitama, Maima, Johanis, Fanlaka, and Padakafeli. After that gongs and mokos began to come in. [Stop.] When we had fed

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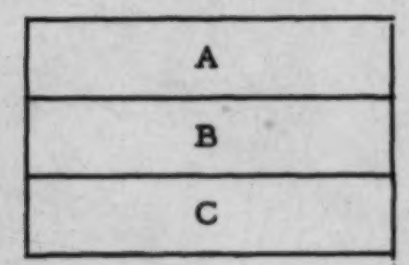

Men carrying a pig, women baskets of grain, bring in a dowry payment (below). Food figures in both dowry and bride price (about three times the amount of the dowry), but the last payments and most important in the long-drawn-out settlements are in "money"



Fanteni (below), for whom this dowry payment is intended, has arrayed himself in full regalia for the occasion. He watches his gift-bearing guests arrive



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